Skolt Sami

Skolt Sami (sää 'mkiõll [saːmccjəhl:], "the Sámi language", or nuõrttsää 'mkiõll [nwərht:saːmccjəhl:], "the Eastern Sámi language", if a distinction needs to be made between it and the other Sami languages) is a <u>Uralic</u>, <u>Sami language</u> that is spoken by the <u>Skolts</u>, with approximately 300 speakers in <u>Finland</u>, mainly in <u>Sevettijärvi</u> and approximately 20–30 speakers of the Njuō'ttjäu'rr (Notozero) dialect^[4] in an area surrounding <u>Lake Lovozero</u> in <u>Russia</u>. Skolt Sami also used to be spoken in the <u>Neiden</u> area of <u>Norway</u>. [4] It is written using a modified Roman <u>orthography</u> which was made official in 1973.

The term Skolt was coined by representatives of the majority culture and has negative connotation which can be compared to the term Lapp. Nevertheless, it is used in cultural and linguistic studies. [5]

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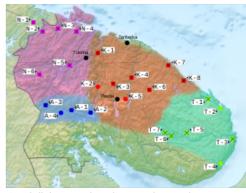
Skolt S	Sami				
nuõrttsää	' mǩiõll				
Pronunciation	[ːlheįŷɔmː̞ɕa̞] :Aqı				
Native to	Finland, Russia				
Ethnicity	Skolts				
Native speakers	(320 cited 1995– 2007) ^[1]				
Language family	Uralic				
	Sami				
	Eastern				
	Mainland				
	Skolt Sami				
Writing system	Latin				
Official s	tatus				
Recognised minority language in	Finland; Norway ^[2]				
Language	codes				
ISO 639-2	sms (https://ww w.loc.gov/standa rds/iso639-2/ph p/langcodes_nam e.php?code_ID=41 4)				
ISO 639-3	sms				
Glottolog	skol1241 (htt p://glottolog.or g/resource/langu oid/id/skol1241) ^{[3}				
4.	7. E 6. 8. 9.				



Skolt Sami is **6** on this regional map of Sami languages.

Auxiliary verbs
Negative verb
Word order
Declarative clauses
Interrogative clauses
Polar questions
Information questions
Imperative clauses

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Sami dialects and settlements in Russia:

Skolt (Russian *Notozersky*)

History

On Finnish territory Skolt Sami was spoken in four villages before the Second World War. In <u>Petsamo</u>, Skolt Sami was spoken in Suonikylä and the village of Petsamo. This area was ceded to Russia in the <u>Second World War</u>, and the Skolts were evacuated to the villages of Inari, Sevettijärvi and Nellim in the Inari municipality.

On the Russian (then Soviet) side the dialect was spoken in the now defunct Sami settlements of Motovsky, Songelsky, <u>Notozero</u> (hence its Russian name – the *Notozersky* dialect). Some speakers still may live in the villages of Tuloma and Lovozero.

On Norwegian territory Skolt Sami was spoken in the $\underline{\text{Sør-Varanger}}$ area with a cultural centre in $\underline{\text{Neiden}}$. The language is not spoken as mother tongue any more in Norway.



Road sign for Ä'vv, the Skolt Sami museum in Neiden, Norway

Status

Finland

In Finland, Skolt Sami is spoken by approximately 400 people. According to Finland's Sami Language Act (1086/2003), Skolt Sami is one of the three Sami languages that the Sami can use when conducting official business in Lapland. It is an official language in the municipality of Inari, and elementary schools there offer courses in the language, both for native speakers and for students learning it as a foreign language. Only a small number of youths learn the language and continue to use it actively. Skolt Sami is thus a seriously endangered language, even more seriously than Inari Sami, which has a nearly equal number of speakers and is even spoken in the same municipality. In addition, there are a lot of Skolts living outside of this area, particularly in the capital region.



A quadrilingual street sign in Inari in (from top to bottom) Finnish, Northern Saami, Inari Saami, and Skolt Saami. Inari is the only municipality in Finland with 4 official languages.

Use

Media

From 1978 to 1986, the Skolts had a quarterly called Sää mođđâz published in their own language. [6] Since 2013, a new magazine called Tuõddri pee rel has been published once a year. [7]

The Finnish news program <u>Yle Ođđasat</u> featured a Skolt Sami speaking newsreader for the first time on August 26, 2016. Otherwise Yle Ođđasat presents individual news stories in Skolt Sami every now and then.^[8] In addition, there have been various TV programs in Skolt Sámi on YLE such as the children's TV series *Binnabánnaš*.

Religion

The first book published in Skolt Sami was an <u>Eastern Orthodox</u> prayer book (*Risttoummi mo'lidvake'rjj*, *Prayerbook for the Orthodox*) in 1983. Translation of the <u>Gospel of John</u> was published (*Evvan evanǧe'lium*) in 1988 and <u>Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom</u> (*Pââ'ss E'ččen Evvan Krysostomoozz Liturgia*) was published in 2002 ^[9] Skolt Sami is used together with <u>Finnish</u> in worship of the <u>Lappi Orthodox Parish</u> (*Lappi ortodookslaž sie'brrkå'dd*) at churches of <u>Ivalo</u>, <u>Sevettijärvi</u> and <u>Nellim</u>. ^[10]

Music

Like <u>Inari Sami</u>, Skolt Sami has recently borne witness to a new phenomenon, namely it is being used in rock songs sung by <u>Tiina Sanila-Aikio</u>, who has published two full-length CDs in Skolt Sami to date.

Education

In 1993, <u>language nest</u> programs for children younger than 7 were created. For quite some time these programs received intermittent funding, resulting in some children being taught Skolt Sami, while others were not. In spite of all the issues these programs faced, they were crucial in creating the youngest generations of Skolt Sami speakers. In recent years, these programs have been reinstated.

In addition, 2005 was the first time that it was possible to use Skolt Sami in a Finnish matriculation exam, albeit as a foreign language. In 2012, Ville-Riiko Fofonoff (Skolt Sami: Läärvan-O'lssi-Peâtt-Rijggu-Vää 'sk-Rijggu-Ville-Reei gaž) was the first person to



The village workshop in Sevettijärvi

use Skolt Sami for the mother tongue portion of the exam; for this, he won the Skolt of the Year Award the same year. [11]

Writing system

Skolt Sami uses the $\underline{\text{ISO basic Latin alphabet}}$ with the addition of some special characters:

Letter	Phoneme(s)
<u>A</u> a	/α/
<u>Â</u> â	/e/
<u>B</u> b	/b/
<u>C</u> c	/t͡s/
<u>Č</u> č	/t͡ʃ/
<u>3</u> 3	/d͡z/
<u>ž</u> ž	/d͡ʒ/
<u>D</u> d	/d/
Đđ	/ð/
<u>E</u> e	/e/, /ɛ/
<u>F</u> f	/f/
<u>G</u> g	/g/
<u>Ğ</u> ğ	/ှ7],/
<u>G</u> g	/ɣ/
<u>H</u> h	/x/
<u>Į</u> i	/i/, /j/
<u>J</u> j	/j/
<u>K</u> k	/k/
<u>Ř</u> Ř	/CÇ/
<u>L</u> I	/\/
<u>M</u> m	/m/
<u>N</u> n	/n/
<u>n</u> ŋ	/ŋ/
<u>O</u> 0	/o/
<u>Õ</u> õ	le/
<u>P</u> p	/p/
<u>R</u> r	/r/
<u>S</u> s	Isl
<u>Š</u> š	/ʃ/
<u>T</u> t	/t/
<u>U</u> u	/u/, /w/
<u>V</u> v	/v/
<u>Z</u> z	/z/
Žž	/3/
<u>Å</u> å	/ɔ/
<u>Ä</u> ä	/a/

Notes:

- The letters Q/q, W/w, X/x, Y/y and O/O are also used, although only in foreign words or loans.
- No difference is made in the standard orthography between /e/ and /ε/. In dictionaries, grammars and other reference works, the letter ⟨e⟩ is used to indicate /ε/.
- \blacksquare The combinations $\langle\, lj\,\rangle$ and $\langle\, nj\,\rangle$ indicate the consonants $/\hbar/$ and /p/ respectively.

Additional marks are used in writing Skolt Sami words:

- A <u>prime symbol</u> ' (U+02B9 MODIFIER LETTER PRIME) or standalone acute accent or ' (U+00B4 ACUTE ACCENT or U+02CA MODIFIER LETTER ACUTE ACCENT) is added after the vowel of a syllable to indicate suprasegmental palatalization.
- An <u>apostrophe</u> ' (U+02BC MODIFIER LETTER APOSTROPHE) is used in the combinations ⟨1'j⟩ and ⟨n'j⟩ to indicate that these are two separate sounds, not a single sound. It is also placed between identical consonants to indicate that they belong to separate prosodic feet, and should not be combined into a geminate. It distinguishes e.g. *lue* 'štted "to set free" from its causative *lue* 'št'ted "to cause to set free".
- A hyphen is used in compound words when there are two identical consonants at the juncture between the parts of the compound, e.g. *kĩott-tel* "mobile phone".
- A vertical line ' (U+02C8 MODIFIER LETTER VERTICAL LINE), typewriter apostrophe or other similar mark indicates that a geminate consonant is long, and the preceding diphthong is short. It is placed between a pair of identical consonants which are always preceded by a diphthong. This mark is not used in normal Skolt Sami writing, but it appears in dictionaries, grammars and other reference works.

Phonology

Special features of this Sami language include a highly complex vowel system and a suprasegmental contrast of palatalized vs. non-palatalized stress groups; palatalized stress groups are indicated by a "softener mark", represented by the modifier letter prime (').

Vowels

The system of vowel phonemes is as follows:

	front	central	back
close	i		u
close-mid	е	9	0
open-mid	ε	В	Э
open	a		α

Skolt Sami has <u>vowel length</u>, but it co-occurs with contrasts in length of the following consonant(s). Before a long consonant, vowels are short, while before a short consonant vowels are long (written with a doubled letter). For example, *le'tt* 'vessel' vs. *lee'tt* 'vessels'.

The vowels can combine to form twelve opening diphthongs:

	front	front to central	back to front	back to central	back
close to close-mid	ie	ei	ue	eu	
close to open-mid	iε	ie	uε	ue	นว
close to open			ua		
close-mid to open-mid		ев			
close-mid to open	ea				

Like the monophtongs, all diphthongs can be short or long, but this is not indicated in spelling. Short diphthongs are distinguished from long ones by both length and stress placement: short diphthongs have a stressed second component, whereas long diphthongs have stress on the first component.

Diphthongs may also have two variants depending on whether they occur in a plain or palatalized environment. This has a clearer effect with diphthongs whose second element is back or central. Certain inflectional forms, including the addition of the palatalizing suprasegmental, also trigger a change in diphthong quality.^[12]

plain	palatalized
iõ	iõ′
iâ	ie'
eâ	eä'
eä	ea
uõ	uõ′
uå	ue'
uâ	ue
uä	uä'

Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes is the following:

		Labial	Dental	/ Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar
			plain	sibilant	sibilant	Palalai	veiai
Nasal		<u>m</u>	<u>n</u>			р	<u>ŋ</u>
Plosive /	voiceless	<u>p</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>fs</u>	<u>£J</u>	<u>cç</u>	<u>k</u>
affricate	voiced	<u>b</u>	<u>d</u>	\widehat{dz}	<u>d3</u>	<u>f</u> j	<u>g</u>
Fricative	voiceless	Ī		<u>s</u>	Ţ		<u>x</u>
ricative	voiced	<u>v</u>	<u>ð</u>	z	3	į	¥
<u>Trill</u>			<u>r</u>				
Annroviment	central	<u>w</u>				į	
Approximant	lateral		Ī			<u>Y</u>	

- Unvoiced stops and affricates are pronounced preaspirated after vowels and sonorant consonants.
- Voiced stops and affricates are usually pronounced just weakly voiced.
- Older speakers realize the palatal affricates /ĉç, f͡ʃ] / as plosives [c, †].
- In initial position, /x/ is realized as glottal [h].

Consonants may be phonemically short or long (geminate) both word-medially or word-finally; both are exceedingly common. Long and short consonants also contrast in consonant clusters, cf. $ku\tilde{o}sk\hat{a}d$ 'to touch': $ku\tilde{o}sk\hat{a}m$ 'I touch'. A short period of voicelessness or h, known as preaspiration, before geminate consonants is observed, much as in <u>Icelandic</u>, but this is not marked orthographically, e.g. $jo'k\tilde{k}e'$ to the river' is pronounced [jQhkke].

Suprasegmentals

There is one phonemic <u>suprasegmental</u>, the <u>palatalizing</u> suprasegmental that affects the pronunciation of an entire syllable. In written language the palatalizing suprasegmental is indicated with a free-standing acute accent between a stressed vowel and the following consonant, as follows:

vää 'rr 'mountain, hill' (suprasegmental palatalization present) cf. *väärr* 'trip' (no suprasegmental palatalization)

The suprasegmental palatalization has three distinct phonetic effects:

- The stressed vowel is pronounced as slightly more fronted in palatalized syllables than in non-palatalized ones.
- When the palatalizing suprasegmental is present, the following consonant or consonant cluster is pronounced as weakly palatalized. Suprasegmental palatalization is independent of segmental palatals: inherently palatal consonants (i.e. consonants with palatal place of articulation) such as the palatal glide /j/, the palatal nasal /n/ (spelled ⟨nj⟩) and the palatal lateral approximant /k/ (spelled ⟨lj⟩) can occur both in non-palatalized and suprasegmentally palatalized syllables.
- If the word form is monosyllabic and ends in a consonant, a non-phonemic weakly voiced or unvoiced vowel is pronounced after the final consonant. This vowel is *e*-colored if suprasegmental palatalization is present, but *a*-colored if not.

Stress

Skolt Sami has four different types of stress for words:

- Primary stress
- Secondary stress
- Tertiary stress
- Zero stress

The first syllable of any word is always the primary stressed syllable in Skolt Sami as Skolt is a fixed-stress language. In words with two or more syllables, the final syllable is quite lightly stressed (tertiary stress) and the remaining syllable, if any, are stressed more heavily than the final syllable, but less than the first syllable (secondary stress).

Using the <u>abessive</u> and the <u>comitative</u> <u>singular</u> in a word appears to disrupt this system, however, in words of more than one syllable. The suffix, as can be expected, has tertiary stress, but the penultimate syllable also has tertiary stress, even though it would be expected to have secondary stress.

Zero stress can be said to be a feature of conjunctions, postpositions, particles and monosyllabic pronouns.

Grammar

Skolt Sami is a <u>synthetic</u>, highly <u>inflected</u> language that shares many grammatical features with the other <u>Uralic languages</u>. However, Skolt Sami is not a typical <u>agglutinative language</u> like many of the other Uralic languages are, as it has developed considerably into the direction of a <u>fusional language</u>, much like <u>Estonian</u>. Therefore, cases and other grammatical features are also marked by modifications to the root and not just marked with suffixes. Many of the suffixes in Skolt Sami are <u>portmanteau morphemes</u> that express several grammatical features at a time.

Umlaut

<u>Umlaut</u> is a pervasive phenomenon in Skolt Sami, whereby the vowel in the second syllable affects the quality of the vowel in the first. The presence or absence of palatalisation can also be considered an umlaut effect, since it is also conditioned by the second-syllable vowel, although it affects the entire syllable rather than the vowel alone. Umlaut is complicated by the fact that many of the second-syllable vowels have disappeared in Skolt Sami, leaving the umlaut effects as their only trace.

The following table lists the Skolt Sami outcomes of the Proto-Samic first-syllable vowel, for each second-syllable vowel.

Proto	*ā, *ō	*ē	*ë, *u	*i
Skolt	a	е	â, u	е
*ë	â	â'	õ	õ′
*o	å	å'	0	0'
*i	е	e'	i	i'
*u	0	u'	u	u'
*ā	ä	ä'	a	a'
*ea	eä	eä', ię'	iâ	ie'
*ie	eâ	ie'	iõ	iõ′
*oa	uä	uä', uẹ'	uå	ue'
*uo	uâ	ue'	uõ	uõ′

Some notes:

• *ie'* and *ue'* appear before a quantity 2 consonant, *ea'* and *ua'* otherwise.

As can be seen, palatalisation is present before original second-syllable $*\bar{e}$ and *i, and absent otherwise. Where they survive in Skolt Sami, both appear as e, so only the umlaut effect can distinguish them. The original short vowels $*\bar{e}$, *u and *i have a general raising and backing effect on the preceding vowel, while the effect of original $*\bar{a}$ and $*\bar{o}$ is lowering. Original $*\bar{e}$ is fronting (palatalising) without having an effect on height.

Nouns

Cases

Skolt Sami has 9 cases in the singular (7 of which also have a plural form), although the genitive and accusative are often the same.

The following table shows the inflection of $\check{c}u\ddot{a}cc$ ('rotten snag') with the single <u>morphemes</u> marking noun stem, number, and case separated by <u>hyphens</u> for better readability. The last morpheme marks for case, i marks the plural, and a is due to <u>epenthesis</u> and does not have a meaning of its own. ^[13]

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	čuäcc [t͡ʃwatt͡s]	čuäʒʒ [t͡ʃwadd͡z]
Genitive	čuäʒʒ [t͡ʃwahdd͡z]	čuäʒʒ-a-i [t͡ʃwahdd͡zαj]
Accusative	čuäʒʒ [t͡ʃwahdd͡z]	čuäʒʒ-a-i-d [t͡ʃwahdd͡zɑjd]
Illative	cuắc'c-u [t͡swɔ̞ht ʲ t͡su]	čuäʒʒ-a-i-d [t͡ʃwahdd͡zαjd]
Locative	čuäʒʒ-a-st [t] wahddzαst]	čuäʒʒ-a-i-n [t͡ʃwahdd͡zɑjn]
Comitative	čuäʒʒ-a-in [t͡ʃwahdd͡zαjn]	čuäʒʒ-a-i-vui´m [t͡ʃwahddzαjvʲųi̞m]
Abessive	čuäʒʒ-tää [t͡ʃwahdd͡ztaː]	čuäʒʒ-a-i-tää [t͡ʃwahdd͡zαjtaː]
Essive	čuäcc-a-n [t͡ʃwahtt͡sαn]	-
Partitive	čuäcc-a-d [t͡ʃwahtt͡sαd]	-

Nominative

Like the other <u>Uralic languages</u>, the <u>nominative</u> singular is unmarked and indicates the <u>subject</u> or a <u>predicate</u>. The nominative plural is also unmarked and always looks the same as the genitive singular.

Genitive

The *genitive* singular is unmarked and looks the same as the <u>nominative</u> plural. The genitive plural is marked by an -i. The genitive is used:

- to indicate possession (Tu 'st lij muu Ře 'rjj. 'You have my book.')
- to indicate number, if said the number is between 2 and 6. (Sie 'zzest lij kuõ 'htt põõrt. 'My father's sister (my aunt) has two houses.')
- with prepositions (rääi + [GEN]: 'by something', 'beyond something')
- with most postpositions. (Sij mõ 'nne ääkkäd årra. 'They went to your grandmother's (house).', 'They went to visit your grandmother.')

The genitive has been replacing the partitive for some time and is nowadays more commonly used in its place.

Accusative

The <u>accusative</u> is the direct <u>object</u> case and it is unmarked in the singular. In the plural, its marker is -*d*, which is preceded by the plural marker -*i*, making it look the same as the plural <u>illative</u>. The accusative is also used to mark some adjuncts, e.g. *obb tää 'lv* ('the entire winter').

Locative

The locative marker in the singular is -st and -n in the plural. This case is used to indicate:

- where something is (*Kuä 'đest lij ǩe 'rjj*: 'There is a book in the *kota*.')
- where it is coming from (Niõđ puõ 'tte domoi Če 'vetjääu 'rest: 'The girls came home from Sevettijärvi.')
- who has possession of something (Su 'st lij čâustõk: 'He/she has a lasso.')

In addition, it is used with certain verbs:

■ to ask someone s.t. : kõõččâd [+loc]

Illative

The <u>illative</u> marker actually has three different markers in the singular to represent the same case: -*a*, -*e* and -*u*. The plural illative marker is -*d*, which is preceded by the plural marker -*i*, making it look the same as the plural <u>accusative</u>. This case is used to indicate:

- where something is going
- who is receiving something
- the indirect object

Comitative

The <u>comitative</u> marker in the singular is -*in* and -*vui* '*m* in the plural. The comitative is used to state *with whom or what* something was done:

- Njää 'Im sekstet leei 'nin. The mouth is wiped with a piece of cloth.
- Vuố 'lǧǧem paa 'rnivui 'm ceerkvest. I left church with the children.
- Vuõ 'lǧǧem vue 'bbinan ceerkvest. I left church with my sister.

To form the comitative singular, use the genitive singular form of the word as the <u>root</u> and *-in*. To form the comitative plural, use the plural genitive root and *-vui 'm*.

Abessive

The abessive marker is -tää in both the singular and the plural. It always has a tertiary stress.

- Vuõ 'Iǧǧem paa 'rnitää ceerkvest. I left church without the children.
- Sij mõ 'nne niõđtää põ 'rtte. They went in the house without the girl.
- Sij mõ 'nne niõđi**tää** põ 'rtte. They went in the house without the girls.

Essive

The dual form of the <u>essive</u> is still used with pronouns, but not with nouns and does not appear at all in the <u>plural</u>.

Partitive

The partitive is only used in the singular and can always be replaced by the genitive. The partitive marker is -d.

- 1. It appears after numbers larger than six:
- kääu 'c čâustõkkâd: 'eight lassos'

This can be replaced with kää 'uc čâustõõ gg.

- 2. It is also used with certain postpositions:
- kuä 'tte'd vuâstta: 'against a kota'

This can be replaced with kuä 'đ vuâstta'

- 3. It can be used with the comparative to express that which is being compared:
- kå 'lled pue 'rab: 'better than gold'

This would nowadays more than likely be replaced by pue 'rab ko kå 'll

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

The <u>personal pronouns</u> have three numbers: singular, plural and <u>dual</u>. The following table contains personal pronouns in the nominative and genitive/accusative cases.

	English	nominative	English	genitive
First person (singular)	I	mon	my	muu
Second person (singular)	you (thou)	ton	your, yours	tuu
Third person (singular)	he, she	son	his, her	suu
First person (dual)	we (two)	muäna	our	muännai
Second person (dual)	you (two)	tuäna	your	tuännai
Third person (dual)	they (two)	suäna	theirs	suännai
First person (plural)	we	mij	our	mij
Second person (plural)	you	tij	your	tij
Third person (plural)	they	sij	their	sij

The next table demonstrates the declension of a personal pronoun *he/she* (no gender distinction) in various cases:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	son	suäna	sij
Genitive	suu	suännai	sij
Accusative	suu	suännaid	si'jjid
Illative	su'nne	suännaid	si'jjid
Locative	su'st	suännast	sii'st
Comitative	suin	suännain	si'jjivui'm
Abessive	suutää	suännaitää	si′jjitää
Essive	suu'nen	suännan	_
Partitive	suu' đed	_	_

Possessive markers

Next to number and case, Skolt Sami nouns also inflect for possession. However, usage of <u>possessive affixes</u> seems to decrease among speakers. The following table shows possessive inflection of the word *muõrr* ('tree'). [14]

			Possessor					
			1st Person Singular	1st Person Plural	2nd P. Sg.	2nd P. Pl.	3rd P. Sg.	3rd P. Pl.
		Nominative	muõrram	muõrrâm	muõrrad	muõrrâd	muõrrâs	muõrrâz
		Accusative/ Genitive	muõrran	muõrrân	muõrad	muõrâd	muõrâs	muõrâz
	Singular	Illative	muõr'rsan	muõr'rseen	muõr'rsad	muõr'rseed	muõr'rses	muõr'rseez
		Locative	muõrstan	muõrsteen	muõrstad	muõrsteed	muõrstes	muõrsteez
		Comitative	muõrinan	muõrineen	muõrinad	muõrineed	muõrines	muõrineez
		Abessive	muõrrantää	muõrrântää	muõradtää	muõrâdtää	muõrâstää	muõrâztää
Possessed		Essive	muõr'rnan	muõr'rneen	muõrr'rnad	muõr'rneed	muõr'rnes	muõr'rneez
Possesseu		Nominative	muõrran	muõrrân	muõrad	muõrâd	muõrâs	muõrâz
	Plural	Accusative/ Genitive/ Illative	muõrrään	muõreen	muõrääd	muõreed	muõrees	muõreez
		Locative	muõrinan	muõrineen	muõrinad	muõrineed	muõrines	muõrineez
		Comitative	muõräänvui ´m	muõreenvui ´m	muõräädvui ´m	muõreedvui ´m	muõreesvui ´m	muõreezvui ´m
		Abessive	muõrääntää	muõreentää	muõräädtää	muõreedtää	muõreestää	muõreeztää

Verbs

Skolt Sami verbs $\underline{\text{inflect}}$ (inflection of verbs is also referred to as $\underline{\text{conjugation}}$) for $\underline{\text{person}}$, $\underline{\text{mood}}$, $\underline{\text{number}}$, and $\underline{\text{tense}}$. A full inflection table of all person-marked forms of the verb $\underline{\text{kuullâd}}$ ('to hear') is given below. [15]

	Non-past	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1st Person Singular	kuulam	ku'llem	kuulžem	kuulčem	-
2nd P. Sg.	kuulak	ku′lliǩ	kuulžiǩ	kuulčiǩ	kuul
3rd P. Sg.	kooll	kuuli	kuulâž	kuulči	koolas
1st Person Plural	kuullâp	kuulim	kuulžep	kuulčim	kuullâp
2nd P. Pl.	kuullve'ted	kuulid	kuulžid	kuulčid	kuullâd
3rd P. Pl.	ko'lle	ku'lle	kuulže	kuulče	kollaz
4th Person	kuulât	ku'lleš	kuulžet	kuulčeš	-

It can be seen that inflection involves changes to the verb stem as well as inflectional suffixes. Changes to the stem are based on verbs being categorized into several inflectional classes. [16] The different inflectional suffixes are based on the categories listed below.

Person

Skolt Sami <u>verbs</u> conjugate for four grammatical persons:

- first person
- second person
- third person
- fourth person, also called the indefinite person

Mood

Skolt Sami has 5 grammatical moods:

- indicative
- imperative (Pue 'tted sõrgg domoi! 'Come home soon!')
- conditional
- potential
- optative

Number

Skolt Sami verbs conjugate for two grammatical numbers:

- singular
- plural

Unlike other Sami varieties, Skolt Sami verbs do not inflect for <u>dual</u> number. Instead, verbs occurring with the dual personal pronouns appear in the corresponding plural form.

Tense

Skolt Sami has 2 simple tenses:

- past (Puõ 'ttem škoou 'le jåhtta. 'I came to school yesterday.')
- non-past (Evvan puätt mu årra tä 'bbe. 'John is coming to my house today.')

and 2 compound tenses:

- perfect
- pluperfect

Non-finite verb forms

The verb forms given above are person-marked, also referred to as <u>finite</u>. In addition to the finite forms, Skolt Sami verbs have twelve <u>participial</u> and <u>converb</u> forms, as well as the <u>infinitive</u>, which are <u>non-finite</u>. These forms are given in the table below for the verb *kuullâd* ('to hear').^[17]

	Verb form		
Infinitive	kuullâd		
Action Participle	kuullâm		
Present Participle	kuulli		
Past Participle	kuullâm		
Passive Participle	kullum		
Progressive Participle	kuullmen		
Temporal Participle	kuuleen		
Instrumental Participle	kullee'l		
Abessive Participle	kuulkani		
Negative converb	kuul, kullu, kuulže, kuulče (all forms exist, they underlie idiolectal variation)		

Auxiliary verbs

Skolt Sami has two <u>auxiliary verbs</u>, one of which is *lee'd* (glossed as 'to be'), the other one is the <u>negative auxiliary verb</u> (see the following paragraph).

Inflection of *lee'd* is given below.^[18]

	Non-past	Past	Potential	Conditional	Imperative
1st Person Singular	leäm	le'jjem	le′žžem	le'ččem	_
2nd P. Sg.	leäk	le´jjiǩ	le ′ žžiǩ	le ' ččik	leäk'ku
3rd P. Sg.	lij leäi leežž		leežž	le'čči	leäggas
1st Person Plural	leä´p	leei'm	le′žžep	le'ččim	leäk'kap
2nd P. Pl.	P. Pl. leä´ped		le ' žžve ' ted	le'ččid	leäk'ku
3rd P. Pl.	3rd P. Pl. lie, liâ (both forms exist, they underlie idiolectal variation)		le′žže	le'čče	leäk'kaz
4th Person	leät	le'jješ	le ' žžet	le'ččeš	_

Lee'd is used, for example, to assign tense to <u>lexical verbs</u> in the <u>conditional</u> or <u>potential mood</u> which are not marked for tense themselves:

Jiõm â 'te mon ni kõõjiče, jos mon teâđčem, le 'ččem veär raajjâm ouddâl.

(negation (1st P. Sg.) – then – 1st P. Sg. – even – ask (negated conditional) – if – 1st P. Sg. – know (1st P. Sg. conditional) – **be (1st P. Sg. conditional)** – soup – **make (past participle, no tense marking)** – before)

'I wouldn't even ask if I knew, if I had made soup before!'[19]

Negative verb

Skolt Sami, like Finnish, the other Sami languages and Estonian, has a <u>negative verb</u>. In Skolt Sami, the negative verb conjugates according to <u>mood</u> (indicative, imperative and optative), person (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th) and <u>number</u> (singular and plural).

Person		Indicative	Imperative	Optative	
1	Singular	jiõm	-	_	
	Plural	jeä'p	-	jeäl ' lap	
2	Singular	jiõk	jeä'l		
	Plural	jeä' ped	jie'l'led		
3	Singular	ij	_	jeälas	
	Plural	jie ~ jiâ	_	jeäl 'las	
4		jeä't	-		

Note that ij + leat is usually written as i 'lla, i ' $ll\ddot{a}\ddot{a}$ or i ' $ll\ddot{a}$ and ij + leat is usually written as $je\ddot{a}$ ' $l\ddot{a}$ or $je\ddot{a}$ ' $l\ddot{a}$.

Unlike the other Sami languages, Skolt Sami no longer has separate forms for the dual and plural of the negative verb and uses the plural forms for both instead.

Word order

Declarative clauses

The most frequent word order in simple, <u>declarative sentences</u> in Skolt Sami is <u>subject-verb-object</u> (SVO). However, as cases are used to mark relations between different <u>noun phrases</u>, and verb forms mark person and number of the subject, Skolt Sami word order allows for some variation.^[20]

An example of an SOV sentence would be:

 Neezzan suâjjkååutid kuårru. (woman (Pl., Nominative) – protection (Sg., Nominative) + skirt (Pl., Accusative) – sew (3rd P. Pl., Past)) 'The women sewed protective skirts.'

Intransitive sentences follow the order subject-verb (SV):

Jääu 'r kâ 'Imme. (lake (Pl., Nominative) - freeze (3rd P. Pl., Present)) 'The lakes freeze.'

An exception to the SOV word order can be found in sentences with an <u>auxiliary verb</u>. While in other languages, an OV word order has been found to correlate with the auxiliary verb coming after the <u>lexical verb</u>, the Skolt Sami auxiliary verb *lee'd* ('to be') precedes the lexical verb. This has been related to the <u>verb-second (V2) phenomenon</u> which binds the <u>finite verb</u> to at most the second position of the respective clause. However, in Skolt Sami, this effect seems to be restricted to clauses with an auxiliary verb. [22]

An example of a sentence with the auxiliary in V2 position:

Kuuskõõzz le 'jje ääld poorrâm. (northern light (Pl., Nominative) – be (3rd P. Pl., Past) – female reindeer (Sg., Accusative) – eat (Past Participle)) 'The northern lights had eaten the female reindeer.'

Interrogative clauses

Polar questions

In Skolt Sami, <u>polar questions</u>, also referred to as yes-no questions, are marked in two different ways. <u>Morphologically</u>, an <u>interrogative particle</u>, -*a*, is added as an <u>affix</u> to the first word of the clause. <u>Syntactically</u>, the element which is in the scope of the question is moved to the beginning of the clause. If this element is the verb, subject and verb are inversed in comparison to the declarative SOV word order.

■ *Vue 'Iǧǧve 'ted-a tuäna muu ooudâst eččan ääu 'd ool?* (leave (2nd P. Pl., Present, Interrogative) – 2nd P. Dual Nominative – 1st P. Sg. Genitive – behalf – father (Sg. Genitive 1st P. Pl.) – grave (Sg. Genitive) – onto) 'Will the two of you go, on my behalf, to our father's grave?'

If an auxiliary verb is used, this is the one which is moved to the initial sentence position and also takes the interrogative affix.

- Leäk-a ää 'vääm tõn uus? (be (2nd P. Sg., Present, Interrogative) open (Past Participle) that (Sg. Accusative) door (Sg. Accusative)) 'Have you opened that door?'
- Leäk-a ton Jefremoff? (be (2nd P. Sg., Interrogative) 2nd P. Sg., Nominative Jefremoff) 'Are you Mr. Jefremoff?'

A negated polar question, using the negative auxiliary verb, shows the same structure:

• Ij-a kõskklumâs villjad puättam? (Negation 3rd P. Sg., Interrogative – middle – brother (Sg. Nominative, 2nd P. Sg.) – come (Past Participle)) 'Didn't your middle brother come?'

An example of the interrogative particle being added to something other than the verb, would be the following:

■ Võl–a lie mainnâz? (still (Interrogative) – be (3rd P. Sg., Present) – story (Pl., Nominative)) 'Are there still stories to tell?' [23]

Information questions

Information questions in Skolt Sami are formed with a question word in clause-initial position. There also is a gap in the sentence indicating the missing piece of information. This kind of structure is similar to Wh-movement in languages such as English. There are mainly three question words corresponding to the English 'what', 'who', and 'which' (out of two). They inflect for number and case, except for the latter which only has singular forms. It is noteworthy that the illative form of *mii* ('what') corresponds to the English 'why'. The full inflectional paradigm of all three question words can be found below. [24]

		What	Who	Which
Singular	Nominative	mii	Řіі	kuäbbaž
	Accusative	mâi'd	Řeän	kuäbba
	Genitive	mõõn	Řeän	kuäbba
	Illative	mõõzz ('why')	Řeäzz	kuäbbže
	Locative	mâ'st	ǩeä′st	kuäbbast
	Comitative	mõin	Ќеäin	kuäbbain
	Abessive	mõntää	Keäntää	kuäbbatää
	Essive	mââ'den	ǩeä′đen	kuäbbžen
	Partitive	mââ'đed	ǩeä′đed	kuäbbžed
Plural	Nominative	mõõk	Řeäk	-
	Accusative	mâid	Řeäid	-
	Genitive	mââi	Řeäi	-
	Illative	mâid	Řeäid	-
	Locative	mâin	Řeäin	-
	Comitative	mââivui'm	Řeäivui'm	-
	Abessive	mââitää	Keäitää	-

Some examples of information questions using one of the three question words:

- Mâi 'd reäggak? (what (Sg., Accusative) cry (2nd P. Sg., Present)) 'What are you crying about?'
- Mõõzz pue 'ttik? (what (Sg., Illative) come (2nd P. Sg., Past)) 'Why did you come?'
- Kii tu 'st leäi risttjeä 'nn? (who (Sg., Nominative) 2nd P. Sg., Locative be (3rd P. Sg., Past) godmother (Sg., Nominative) 'Who was your godmother?'
- Kuäbbaž alttad heibbad? (which (Sg., Nominative) begin (3rd P. Sg., Present) wrestle (Infinitive)) 'Which one of you will begin to wrestle?'

In addition to the above-mentioned, there are other question words which are not inflected, such as the following:

■ ko 'st: 'where', 'from where'

koozz: 'to where'
kuä 'ss: 'when'
mä 'htt: 'how'
måkam: 'what kind'

An example sentence would be the following:

■ Koozz vuő 'Iǧǧiǩ? (to where – leave (2nd P. Sg., Past)) 'Where did you go?' [25]

Imperative clauses

The Skolt Sami imperative generally takes a clause-initial position. Out of the five imperative forms (see <u>above</u>), those of the second person are most commonly used.

■ Puä 'đ mij årra kuâssa! (come (2nd P. Sg., Imperative) – 1st P. Pl., Genitive – way – on a visit) 'Come and visit us at our place!'

Imperatives in the first person form, which only exist as plurals, are typically used for $\underline{\text{hortative}}$ constructions, that is for encouraging the listener (not) to do something. These imperatives include both the speaker and the listener.

■ Ä'lǧǧep heibbad! (start (1st P. Pl., Imperative) – wrestle (Infinitive)) 'Let's start to wrestle!'

Finally, imperatives in the third person are used in jussive constructions, the mood used for orders and commands.

■ *Kuärŋŋaz* sij tie 'rm ool! (climb (3rd P. Pl., Imperative) – 3rd P. Pl., Nominative – hill (Sg., Genitive) – onto) 'Let them climb to the top of the hill! [26]

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External links

- The Children's TV series Binnabánnaš in Skolt Sámi (https://areena.yle.fi/1-4246516)
- Nuõrttsää' mkiõl alfabee'tt koltankieliset aakkoset (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-et0AMEGQ8Y) Skolt Saami alphabet by the Finnish Saami Parliament
- Say it in Saami (http://sayitinsaami.yle.fi/) Yle's colloquial Northern Saami-Inari Saami-Skolt Saami-English phrasebook online
- Surrey Morphology Group Skolt Saami (http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/languages/skolt-saami/)
- Kimberli Mäkäräinen (http://www.uta.fi/~km56049/same/skolt/koltansaame.html)
 A very small Skolt Sámi English vocabulary (< 500 words)
- Skolt Sámi Finnish/English/Russian dictionary (http://saan.oahpa.no/) (robust finite-state, open-source)
- Northern Sámi Inari Sámi Skolt Sámi English dictionary (https://web.archive.org/web/20051227104303/http://www.idolphin.fi/sanastotietopankki/) (requires a password nowadays)
- Names of birds found in (http://www.kirjasto.oulu.fi/saamilottit/)Sápmi in a number of languages, including Skolt Sámi and English. Search function only works with Finnish input though.
- Sää ' mjie ' llem (http://www.siida.fi/saamjiellem/english/index.html)
 Sámi Museum site on the history of the Skolt Sámi in Finland
- Zita McRobbie-Utasi (https://www.sfu.ca/~mcrobbie/Research1.html) A number of linguistic articles on Skolt Sámi.
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